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Movement of Women Seen in Passport Records : From Imperial Japan to Colonized Korea

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Introduction

Debates about interpretations of history have focused on the problem of the so-called “*ianfu*,” or “comfort women” used by the Japanese Army. The historical revisionist Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform has gained notoriety for its sexist and racist portrayal of the “comfort women,” while the diametrically opposing image presented by the Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan has been criticized for emphasizing an ethnocentric point of view.¹

At the same time, minority feminism has provided at least a preliminary answer to the question of whether feminism can overcome the problem of nationalism.²

Even though the problem of the “comfort women—military sex slave” has gained wide attention in the last ten years or more, there has been almost no research based on the testimonies of the “comfort women” themselves. Yet the problem of where to position Japanese “comfort women” is important in discussions of nationalism and feminism, when considering the correlation between the “comfort women” system and licensed prostitution.

Research has been carried out on the movements of the Japanese population as the Japanese empire expanded,³ and in women’s history studies on the *karayuki-san*, women who were trafficked to South-east Asia, Korea, Manchuria and China.⁴ Moreover, there is research on the problem of the trafficking of young women from the Tōhoku region in the 1930s, during the period of agricultural depression and cold-weather damage to crops.⁵

Even though there is some individual research taking place in women’s history studies in these areas and topics, there is insufficient research into the correspondence between the lives of women from the Tōhoku region of Japan, and Korean women under colonial rule who lived

in the same era.⁶

To address the lack, this paper presents analysis of passports records preserved at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in order to spotlight the lives of the women who moved from imperial Japan to colonized Korea.

The arguments presented here are also a critique of conventional Japanese modern history, which so far has failed to address Japan's relationship with Korea and Taiwan, in order to transcend the framework of the nation state. At the same time, the Japanese women who have been obscured in the process of creating modern historical discourses should be rescued from oblivion. Women in the lowest social position were forced out from the empire to the margins, and they have been treated with indifference by modern history. Only when their footprints in history have been recorded will be possible to give a more complete account of modern history.

1. Tracing Female Travel through Passports

(1) Travel to China, Russia and Korea in the *Annual Comparison of Numbers of Passports Granted*

A survey of the working population of Japanese people living in Korea did not begin until 1903,⁷ so it is only possible to learn about movements before that time from the *Annual Comparison of Numbers of Passports Granted* published by the Bureau of International Trade of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1868 to 1905),⁸ and from the passport records in the Diplomatic Records Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.⁹

It is unthinkable that all those who went to Korea were issued with passports, and as a result no records remain on people who crossed from Tsushima Island before the Japan-Korea friendship treaty, such as Ōike Chūsuke,¹⁰ a successful business man in Pusan. Nevertheless, it is possible to survey the existing passport records to discover what kind of people went abroad, and their purpose in doing so.

The names of many of those who went abroad to Western countries in the period up to the late 1880s now appear in the history books. These people had mostly been promised favourable treatment on their return. The Meiji government actively encouraged them to travel abroad in order to have Western-trained capable people to lead the country into the new era.

In contrast to the people who visited the West, it was mainly anonymous commoners who moved to Shanghai and Korea without any promise of a certain future.

The introduction of the *Jinshin koseki* in 1872 made family names compulsory, and many passports issued before that time do not show family names. For example, passports for Shanghai show "Yoshino Seishichirō, age 54, Nagasaki" and "Yoneda Chūbei, Izekiyaemon, Uwajima yoshū," but also "Momojirō, age 25, Ōe village Higo province," "Shinkichi, age 21, son of Chōkichi, Minamitenma-chō, Nakahashi, Tokyo" and "Takejirō, age 36, younger brother of Naoemon, Minowa village, Koma-gun, Kōshū."¹¹ Some of the early women issued with passports to Shanghai were licensed prostitutes from Nagasaki's Maruyama-cho red light district who were travelling with foreigners. Later they were followed by young women employed as servants by Westerners to go with them to Shanghai and Vladivostok.¹² With the 1866 customs revision treaty, the Edo bakufu accepted the deployment of Japanese sailors on foreign ships, and travel abroad for apprentices employed by foreigners living in Japan, so it was primarily people employed by foreigners who left the country initially.¹³

The right to travel to Korea had been limited to people from Tsushima Island, but after the conclusion of a Japan-Korea friendship treaty in February 1876, this right was extended to all Japanese people,¹⁴ and the number of passports issued increased.¹⁵

In 1878, two years after the friendship treaty was concluded, the modern passport law was enacted, and although there were slight variations depending on the place of issue, the appearance of the passports were gradually adjusted, to give a uniform passport that showed a passport number, name, age, address on the family registry, status, purpose of travel, destination, date of issue, length of validity, date of delivery of the passport, date of return from abroad, and date of return for the passport.

Table 1 gives an overview of the movement to East Asia as seen in the *Annual Comparison of Numbers of Passports Granted*. Up to 1884, female travellers going to China (mainly Shanghai), Korea, Russia (almost exclusively Vladivostok) were the destinations of more than 85 percent of those travelling to foreign areas, but after official emigration to Hawaii began in 1885, the proportion fell to 25 percent. However, after the

Sino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese Wars, the percentages of those travelling to East Asia reverted to the higher figures of 83 percent and 71 percent respectively. The figure for travel to Korea was high at 60 percent in 1879 and 1880, but in other periods, Korea usually accounted for about one quarter of the total of female travellers. For travellers to China in 1882 and 1883, the number of women exceeds the number of men, but for passports to China, Russia and Korea issued during the period 1868 to 1905, there is a huge overall imbalance in favour of men, with a ratio of men to women of 5 to 1.

More complete passport records showing destinations remain from after 1881.¹⁶ Taking 1881 as an example for comparing female travellers who went China, Russia and Korea, the average ages of women travelling to China and Russia were 22.7 years and 21.6 years respectively. The average age for those going to Korea was higher at 26.5 years, and a relatively large number of them were travelling with their families, whereas many of the women travelling to China and Russia were young, single women, who described the purpose of travel as sewing work or washing work. Vladivostok had the highest ratio of seamstresses and washerwomen. Their age range is wide, from 11 to 48 years, but they were mainly younger women, with those in their teens and twenties accounting for 78 percent and 33 percent respectively. There were also a sizeable number of women travelling to Korea as seamstresses and washerwomen, but they accounted for 50 percent of those leaving for China and 65 percent for Vladivostok. The section of the passport for the return date indicates that some came back after a few months or years, but for many men and women, there is no indication of their return dates. More than 25 percent of the women travelling to Vladivostok, all of whom were commoners, indicate no return date. Cases of women who first travelled to Korea and then several months later travelled to Vladivostok can also be seen in the passport records.¹⁷

(2) The Discrepancy between Records and Memory in the Reasons for Travel

According to the 1880 "Table of Issues of Passports for Travel Abroad,"¹⁸ passports for travel to Korea were issued to 181 men and 24 women by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tokyo. In that year, only Pusan and Wŏnsan

were open to Japanese, but compared to passports issued in Nagasaki, the proportion of women is very low. According to the passport records, women were travelling alone from Nagasaki, whereas the women whose passports were issued in Tokyo were the families of public officials or their “servant girls,” but prostitutes can be seen among the few going to Korea.

Akakura Tōkichi (age 47 years and 4 months) of 2-chōme Kyōmachi, shin-Yoshiwara, Asakusa was issued a passport on the 19th of April, 1880. On the 7th of May of the same year, Ogawa Ai (age 46 years and 8 months) of 1-chōme Kyōmachi, shin-Yoshiwara, Asakusa and Kohaba Matsunosuke (age 33) applied for passports for the purpose of business, and Ogawa was granted a passport valid for 900 days. Ogawa and Kohaba were also accompanied by adopted daughters aged 27 and 14. None of them indicated a return date.

An article in *Ukiyo*¹⁹ from the 11th of May of that year suggests information on what kind of person Kohaba was, and why he went to Korea. The article states, “Some years ago, an entrepreneur went to Korea to open a brothel before returning to *Chūbeirō*. Tomorrow, the 12th of May, *Oden neko* of Yoshiwara and her husband, Obata Matsunosuke will follow in that person’s footsteps by going to Korea on the *Kankōmaru* to seek their fortune by running a brothel.” The Chinese characters used for the name “Kohaba” are different from the one in the passport records, but it seems likely that the “Obata” Matsunosuke mentioned in the above article is the same person who was issued with a passport, and that his wife, *Oden neko* is Oden,²⁰ the adopted daughter of Ogawa Ai. The 1900 Prostitution Control Regulation prohibited people under eighteen years of age from engaging in prostitution. Since the permission of the head of household or nearest relative in the same family registry was necessary for a person to engage in prostitution, it was common both before and after the enactment of the regulation for a procurer to adopt a woman as a daughter if she did not fulfil the requirements of the regulation.²¹

According to the 1883 “Passport Returns Records (Attachment),” the said Kohaba (Obata) was issued with a passport again for travel for business purposes, but his age is given as 36 years and 7 months, and the Chinese characters used in the name are the same as noted in the newspaper article. Despite Kohaba’s appearance in the passport records written in 1880, the newspaper article was written based on the daily life

information of people at the time, so it can be assumed that Obata in the newspaper article is the more accurate record. Moreover, the actual substance of Obata's purpose of travel, noted only as 'business affairs' in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' records, is described in the newspaper article using information gained from his contemporaries, an example of the limitations of the official records.

As can be seen from the *Ukiyo* article, brothel-keepers from Yoshiwara were already crossing to Korea before the spring of 1880, and because of this, *Chūbeirō* opened under different management as *shin-Chūbeirō* in 2-chōme shin-Kyōmachi.²²

There is a remark in *A History of the Development of Keijō* to the effect that: "Ogawa Fui was prohibited from residing in Keijō for three years on suspicion of immoral practices."²³ As in the case of the above problem of the different Chinese characters used for Obata's name, it is possible to surmise that this Ogawa Fui is the same Ogawa who travelled with Obata. If so, then the records show that Ogawa Ai came from Amakusa, Kumamoto Prefecture.

The return date for Ogawa Ai was left blank in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs records, but since Ogawa was only given permission to stay for 900 days, either the permission was extended, or she overstayed her permit. The port of Inch'ŏn was opened to travellers in 1883, so at the time when Ogawa Ai was travelling, it was necessary to land at Pusan and then travel to Seoul.

There are discrepancies between official records and memory, but nevertheless it is worthwhile to examine the data relating to the most frequent travellers to East Asian areas, the seamstresses and washerwomen.

Prostitution was a serious problem for the Consul in Inch'ŏn after the opening of the port, and it reported on the situation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, requesting effective government regulation and permission for a system of licensed prostitution. A report entitled "Report no. 31 from Kobayashi, Consul of Inch'ŏn Port to Minister of Foreign Affairs Yoshida, February 28, 1884" stated, "The prostitutes arriving at this port give as their occupation not prostitution but washing, sewing or hairdressing, and appear to have an employer who is involved in such a business," and "The likes of these women have an apprenticeship or a contract with an employer which amounts to human trafficking."²⁴ As in the case of

Vladivostok, there seem to be more seamstresses and washerwomen than necessary for the Japanese community, so it is possible that for places where licensed prostitution was not allowed, like Inch'ŏn, seamstressing and washing are a euphemism for prostitution.

An excerpt from *A History of the Development of Keijō* of 1885 states, "There are 89 Japanese officials and people residing here, of whom 18 are women. Half of them are wives and daughters, while the others are concubines and waitresses."²⁵

The argument that business, seamstressing and washing, when given as a reason for travel, can be interpreted as prostitution will be discussed in Section 2 and used as the basis for comparing employment.

(3) Colonial Policies and Simplification of the Application Procedures for Travel

A passport could easily be obtained for those with business or other matters, or who were seamstresses or washerwomen, and it was possible to travel to Korea, China or Russia if a person had the requisite amount of money, either from an employer or personally. With the simplification of the application procedure for travel, the contradictory attitude of the new Meiji government was directed towards other countries, as it was necessary from the standpoint of colonisation to send citizens overseas.

In March 1878, when the modern passport laws were established, Clause 1 of Proclamation no. 1 (of the Passport Regulations established February 1878) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stipulates the Ministry and the Port Authority as passport issuing bodies, but people travelling to Korea could obtain passports at branch offices in Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Shimane, Fukuoka, Kagoshima and Nagasaki-ken Izuhara (Tsushima). Moreover, in Clause 3, the application fee for the passport was reduced from two yen to fifty sen "for the time being" (actually until 1881),²⁶ so for people living in poverty under the new government, Korea became a land of hope. With the simplification of the passport application procedure, travel to Korea offered a simple and convenient opportunity for employment to young women.²⁷

The Meiji government introduced a petty offence ordinance, equivalent to today's misdemeanour laws, for Japanese people living in Korea (Pusan in 1882 and Keijō in 1887), and in order to control

“disturbances of public order” and “corruption of public morals,” in 1885 added prostitution control regulations to the 1883 Regulation for Control of Japanese Citizens Residing in China and Korea.²⁸ During the twenty one years from 1885 to 1905, 484 people were charged with the former offence, and 132 with the latter, and were prevented from residing abroad as a result.²⁹ Immediately after the opening of the ports, Japan had a monopoly on trade with Korea, and for this reason it was government policy to increase the number of Japanese residents there, necessitating simplification of the application procedures. As a result, however, the accompanying problems described above became unavoidable.

For seven or eight years after the opening of the ports, it can be seen that Japanese merchants had a monopoly on Korean trade, because Japan had established a series of commercial amity treaties allowing exemption from customs duties, consular jurisdiction and enforcing the use of Japanese currency. However, pressure from the Chinese government intensified, using the *Imo kullan* (Military Mutiny of 1882) as an excuse, and Chinese merchants began to penetrate the market, with their advantages of capital and creditworthiness over the Japanese merchants. In the same year, Korea signed commercial amity treaties with America, Britain, and Germany, and a land and sea trade agreement with China. The area for foreign activity at the ports was restricted to 50 *ri* (Japanese leagues) in 1882. It was extended to 100 *ri* in 1884, and moreover, permission could be gained for travel or trade activities to the inland areas of the country.

Because travel by Japanese people became an active policy of the Japanese government, the convenience of issue of passports was improved in the manner described above. If the convenience of application was a carrot for travellers, then the misdemeanour laws were a stick, in the form of fines paid to allow continued permission to reside in Korea rather than forcible repatriation to Japan. Thus the mechanisms for sending people to reside in Korea were improved little by little.

(4) Policies on Emigration after the 1896 Law for Regulation of Imperial Citizens Residing in China and Korea (no. 80)

Trade disputes between Japan and China for the right to trade with Korea lit the fuse of the Sino-Japanese War, which resulted in a Japanese victory.

As a result, there was an increase in the number of people hoping to move to Korea, and an unprecedented expansion of the potential settlement areas.³⁰ One spur to the increase in movement was the stipulation that emigrants to Korea who went back to Japan temporarily, but had a residency permit from the Japanese consulate, would not need subsequent permission to return to Korea.³¹ The publication of books on Korea increased, and various types of texts for learning Korean appeared on the market.³² The number of entrepreneurs increased with the population, and the income of the Keijō Residents' Association increased after the introduction of new taxes on such services as the geisha business, dyeing, rickshaw services, labouring, lemonade-making, and brewing of *shōchū*, *miso* and unrefined *sake*.³³

To deal with the problems caused by the sudden increase in movement, the Regulation for Control of Japanese Citizens Residing in China and Korea was revised, and enacted as the Law for Control of Imperial Citizens Residing in China and Korea.³⁴ The 'Regulation' had become a 'Law,' 'Japanese Citizens' had become 'Imperial Citizens,' and restrictions were relaxed so that under Clauses 5 and 7 of the Law even those who had caused "disturbances of public order" and "corruption of public morals" could reside in China and Korea if they had the requisite financial deposit to mitigate their misdemeanour. The policy of settlement rather than deportation is clear.

In 1900, the requirement for fishermen to have passports was revoked, and in actuality other types of people also became able to travel freely. The support for Japanese immigration was seen by the Korean side in the following way: "Eighty Japanese people arrived at the port of Pusan, and they appear to be labourers. While some of them had passports, many of them did not, and when inspected by the Japanese police, they gave various justifications for this. The police did not particularly cross-examine them on the matter, so it must be assumed that the Japanese government is supporting unrestricted emigration."³⁵ Moreover, after the Sino-Japanese War, Fuchigami Sadasuke, the head of the Keijō Business Association's council chamber, submitted a proposal for passport application, which demanded the following: "While regulations exist to control the movement of gangs of delinquents and prostitutes and prevent them from residing here, general applications for travel should be treated leniently, so that

travel to Korea is made more convenient for Japanese people.”³⁶ In fact, the policy of the Meiji government was already reflecting this demand.

The Sino-Japanese War acted as a spur travel, and it was an opportunity to further promote Korea as a destination for emigration. Yamamoto Kuratarō's *Chosen iju an'nai* [A Guide to Emigrating to Korea] (Minyu-sha) was published in 1904. The Residency General was established, and Japan's rule of Korea gained concrete form. For Japanese residents, there were both carrot and stick in the form of prohibition of residency, and frequent imperial grants of wooden cups and certificates of merit to contributors to education expenditure and sanitation fees.³⁷ As Japan's foothold in Korea solidified, the number of resident Japanese increased, and the type of work available diversified for both men and women.

Presently in 1910, annexation of Korea was realised, and the earlier “prohibition of residency” became “suspension or prohibition of business.”

2. A Comparison of Female Employment for Japanese Women, Korean Women and Japanese Residents of Korea

Fragmentary evidence can be gleaned from the memoirs of Japanese women who lived in Korea on such topics as how they lived, what they thought, and how they saw Korea. Of course, in order to leave behind such memoirs, the writer must have had sufficient education to be able to write, and have been fortunate enough to be able to pull together the experiences afterwards and to look back on their own life experiences. There are unexpectedly few life stories with some sort of special tale to tell, so it is rather difficult to hear the voices of the common people sent to Korea.

A survey of the people moving to Korea categorized by occupation was begun in 1903 on the orders of the Minister for Foreign Affairs,³⁸ and because of the sudden increase in travel to Korea due to the war, there were extra surveys in 1904 and 1905.

Table 2 is based on the Pusan list of resident Japanese from 1903, but it excludes workers in side businesses, and shows only the main source of employment. According to the Table, 34 percent of the female residents were servants and 37 percent were *geisha* or waitresses, making up 71 percent of the total. Day labourers, seamstresses, hairdressers, and

washerwomen made up a further 12 percent, so the above occupations account for 83 percent of the total. The more specialized occupations of teacher, nurse and midwife³⁹ consisted of one percent each, barely making up three percent of the total. Further, taking this as a percentage of the total female population of 4816, 0.1 percent are teachers, 0.1 percent are midwives, *geisha* and waitresses are five percent, servants are 4.7 percent, and 1.6 percent are day labourers, seamstresses, hairdressers, and washerwomen. Table 3 shows social status and it can be seen that people from families with samurai antecedents are 14 percent compared to the number of commoners. That figure is far above the figure of 5.5 percent for 1876. It speaks of the many samurai who were deprived of their vested interests in the new era and who thus sought new concessions by moving to Korea.

Table 4 is based on the annual statistical report of the Residency General, but uses the only figures given for women from the data for both men and women on main occupation and family. In 1906, 49.2 percent of the total for main occupation was made up of women working as *geisha*/prostitutes and waitresses, 16.2 percent was miscellaneous work, business was 20.2 percent, midwifery one percent, and teaching 0.5 percent. The figure for *geisha*/prostitutes and waitresses is slightly higher than the 48.2 percent in 1910, but the figure for teaching had doubled to one percent.

Tables 5 and 6 compare the occupations of Japanese women living in Korea and Korean women, based on the above plus statistical data gained from the 1930 census taken in Korea. The number of Japanese women living in Korea who engaged in agriculture was four percent, much lower than the figures of 79.8 percent for Korean women and 70.1 percent of the number for Japanese women living in rural areas of Japan, and lower even than the figure of 5.7 percent for Japanese women living in cities in Japan. The highest percentage is business at 52.0 percent, much higher than the 10.2 percent for rural areas of mainland Japan, and 34.4 percent for urban Japan. For comparison, 5.9 percent of Korean women were engaged in business. The occupation with the highest ratio for Japanese women living in Korea was the service industry at 28.6 percent, followed by business at 22.6 percent, and then agriculture at 11.8 percent. The three main occupations for Korean women are agriculture at 72.4 percent, sericulture

at 6.7 percent, and weaving at 5.8 percent. The number of Japanese women without paid employment is higher than that for Korean women, which can be interpreted as showing the relatively higher standard of living for the Japanese women living in Korea, who were in a position to be supported financially.

As a rule, Japanese residents of Korea lived in urban rather than rural areas, that is to say, many lived in the cities. There was a high rate of women employed in the service industries, just as there had been in the concessions in the port areas. As mentioned in the previous section, the most frequent reasons given for travel were seamstressing, washing and business, which could be interpreted, at least in part as being a cover for prostitution.

Teaching was the occupation of 2.7 percent of the Japanese residents of Korea, as compared to 0.9 percent of women in mainland Japan, and 0.05 percent of Korean women. 5.8 percent of female Japanese residents of Korea were occupied in medical professions (doctors, midwives and nurses), compared to 0.02 percent of Korean women, and 1.1 percent for women in mainland Japan. These figures show that female Japanese residents of Korea were more likely to be employed in specialized occupations than either of the other two groups.

The above analysis shows that there was a large difference in social class among female Japanese residents of Korea: some were supported by their families or were employed in a specialized profession, while others were occupied in business or service work. A greater separation in social class can be seen for those living in the colonies than on mainland Japan, and the records left by women on top of this wide class difference means that there are women at the bottom of society who have been rendered invisible. In colonized Korea, there was a multiple separation of living circumstances based on ethnicity and social class, and the severance between classes has a reinforcing effect on the severance between ethnicities, making it all the more difficult to see the existence of each.

3. The Lifestyles of Japanese Women Residing in Korea

Who were the women who originally moved to Korea when the ports were opened?

In *Chōsen fudoki: jōkan* [A Record of the Korean Climate, vol. 1], Nanba Sentarō wrote about the wife and female servants of Yano Yoshichō who first moved to Korea in 1876. He says, "People first thought about going to Korea in around 1868, but it was impossible. It was difficult for men, and it is no exaggeration to say that it was even more so for women. However, in 1876, when the friendship treaty between Japan and Korea was established, military doctor Yano Yoshichō was appointed with his wife and female servant ... The next party to come with women was Tomita Jūgorō of the Ōkura-gumi."⁴⁰ The above quote appears in Takasaki Sōji.⁴¹ The *Annual Comparison of Numbers of Passports Granted* for 1876 shows that two passports to Korea were issued for women. It is possible that the bearers of these passports were the two women mentioned in the above quote, but Namba Sentarō's description is based on hearsay evidence from Tsushima native Ōike Chūsuke who moved to Korea before 1876, so its reliability is questionable. In the first month of the lunar calendar of 1877, the Korean government demanded that the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs prohibit the entry of the families of Japanese merchants who went there, from which it can be assumed that there were in actuality merchants' families there. In any case, at more or less the same period, nameless women were travelling to Korea from Nagasaki on business, or for seamstressing and other work, but a successful businessman such as, Ōike Chūsuke, would not have taken an interest in describing the lives of low class working women, and they themselves would not have been in a position to leave behind any written records.

The women who left behind diaries of life in Korea almost all belong to the upper social class. Okumura Ioko and Fuchizawa Noe are the most famous among these. Okumura was born in Karatsu, Hizen (the former name for Nagasaki), into the family of the head priest of a temple belonging to the same sect as Higashi-hongan-ji, and as such went to Korea to do missionary work in 1896. In Chōllanam-do Kwangju, she tried to establish a school for the study of sericulture and agriculture and a "Nippon mura" (Japan Village), but the local Koreans were violently opposed to the schemes, and the plan suffered an impasse. After returning to Japan, she established "Aikoku fujin-kai" (Women's Patriotic Association) in 1901.

Okumura had returned to Japan in 1898 with her ambition to organize

a ladies' association unfulfilled, but in 1906 Fuchizawa Noe established the Korea-Japan Women's Association, and acted as its general secretary. In the spring of 1905, Fuchizawa was the first female Japanese educator to move to Korea, where she acted as the dean of Sookmyung Girls' High School, the predecessor to Sookmyung Women's University, and Sookmyung Girls' Normal High School, besides acting as the head of the Korean branch of Japan Christian Women's Organization and the General Association of Christian Churches.⁴² The novelist Pak Hwa-sŏng attended Sookmyung Girls' Normal High School, and mentioned Dean Fuchizawa in her autobiography, *Fubuki no unga* [The Waterway of the Blizzard].⁴³

It is clear from contemporary newspaper articles that there were others apart from Fuchizawa who were mobilized to promote modern education for female students. Saitō Takako, a teacher at a girls' school in Nagasaki gave lectures preaching on the need for female education.⁴⁴ The wife of Nishiyama Kumasuke⁴⁵ was invited to the newly-established girls' school in Taegu (Kyōngsangbuk-do), and Ms. Yokoyama,⁴⁶ who was fluent in Korean, was invited to be a teacher at a training school for girls set up in Mokp'o (Chōllanam-do). The dean of the government-operated Girls' School invited first Akō Chiharu⁴⁷ and then ten other Japanese teachers the following year,⁴⁸ but one of them, Itano Toku left to marry in less than a year.⁴⁹

Midwifery was a speciality for women at the time, allowing women to gain their independence as professionals, so a training school for midwives was established in Korea in 1910 under the sponsorship of the wife of a high official.⁵⁰ Here too, the members of the teaching staff were Japanese, but some of them soon left due to conflict with Korean people.

Education for girls was a priority in Japan's modernization of Korea. The ideology of "good wife, wise mother" was introduced in educational philosophy and thus into the curriculum, but on the ground, there was Korean opposition.

Those who actually had exchange with Japanese female residents were the Japanophiles, who were Korean women of the higher classes. Many Japanese women lived in "Nihon gai" (Japan Towns) or "Nihon mura" (Japan Villages), ghettos where life was lived exactly as in Japan. Certain aspects of Japanese food culture penetrated into Korea, such as *takuan* pickles, *oden* (Japanese hotchpotch) and seaweed rolls, but there

were virtually no Korean *kimch'i* pickles on the dining tables of Japanese residents of Korea.

Conclusion

If we consider the relationship between Japanese women living in Korea and Korean women through the aperture of gender, ethnicity and social class, it is clear that their common attribute of female gender does not supersede the gulf caused ethnicity. However, social class is even more of an obstacle than the difference of ethnicity. Amongst Japanese women, if their social class was different, they were unaware of each other's existence, and were invisible to each other. Naturally, common women knew about the lives of higher class women through the media, but the information travelled unilaterally from the top downwards, and the lower class women's fragmentary knowledge furnished them with a mixture of repulsion and aspiration towards the higher class women. In contrast, the higher class women could live their lives without any knowledge of the existence of those below them on the social scale.

The common women whose life stories can be salvaged from memoirs are most often the Korean women employed as housekeepers.

To those who kept the historical records and had a monopoly on information, namely educated women, the resident Japanese seamstresses, business women, *geisha* and waitresses were not visible. Even though they existed, they were not seen by record-keepers of the same sex, so they are unseen in the records. There is only fragmentary research into their subsequent lives.

As we have seen, from the early Meiji period onwards, Japanese women travelled to relatively remote places, such as Korea, China and Vladivostok in order to escape poverty, but only fragmentary evidence of their history is left behind in the form of passport records. The difference in class between the women who went to work abroad, for example to Korea, is greater than those who stayed in Japan.

Women with a specialist occupational skill were an elite minority of "imperial subjects" who penetrated the male world of the colonies. They were given better treatment and rights than they would have had in Japan, and particularly because education and improvements in hygiene were seen

as fundamental goals of the empire, they were made conscious of their special duty through the awards they frequently received. Accordingly, these women had even more strongly internalized the imperial ideology and the gender bias of the period. From the social, economic and ideological point of view, these women viewed rather coldly the lower class women driven out of the mother country, and the crevasse separating the two groups was deep. Because of their class-based prejudice and gender bias, the women with the skills and power necessary to create records had no concern for women living alongside them, the prostitutes and commoners, and therefore did not document their existence.

Morality-based activities began to save the women at the lowest reaches of society, in the form of the prostitution abolition movement, which extended its activities to as far as Vladivostok. Valuable records have been left by these movements, such as *Kakusei* [Purification] and *Fujin shinpō* [Women's News], but the writers are unable to avoid expressing their contempt for the poor women who engage in prostitution. As Japanese society made rapid economic progress, it became more difficult to see poverty in daily life, and at some point the history was not passed down, becoming closed off to future generations.⁵¹

Table 1

| | Korea | | China | | North America | | Russia | | Others | | Total | | Overall Total |
|---------|--------|--------|--------|-------|---------------|-------|--------|-------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------------|
| | Men | Women | Men | Women | Men | Women | Men | Women | Men | Women | Men | Women | |
| 1868-75 | 1,821 | 144 | 1,050 | 164 | 557 | 39 | 90 | 0 | 748 | 24 | 4,266 | 371 | 4,637 |
| 1876 | 78 | 2 | 224 | 60 | 123 | 5 | 70 | 30 | 113 | 4 | 608 | 101 | 709 |
| 1877 | 479 | 26 | 204 | 95 | 33 | 2 | 59 | 12 | 89 | 3 | 864 | 138 | 1,002 |
| 1878 | 401 | 144 | 205 | 66 | 53 | 4 | 55 | 7 | 193 | 12 | 907 | 233 | 1,140 |
| 1879 | 450 | 210 | 205 | 114 | 35 | 2 | 37 | 13 | 61 | 6 | 788 | 345 | 1,133 |
| 1880 | 623 | 311 | 156 | 121 | 41 | 7 | 76 | 46 | 116 | 13 | 1,012 | 498 | 1,510 |
| 1881 | 311 | 123 | 124 | 95 | 53 | 2 | 198 | 108 | 43 | 10 | 729 | 338 | 1,067 |
| 1882 | 335 | 113 | 153 | 244 | 55 | 5 | 147 | 100 | 103 | 19 | 793 | 481 | 1,274 |
| 1883 | 417 | 142 | 173 | 219 | 53 | 6 | 100 | 146 | 122 | 12 | 865 | 525 | 1,390 |
| 1884 | 368 | 89 | 344 | 116 | 277 | 7 | 72 | 34 | 221 | 26 | 1,282 | 272 | 1,554 |
| 1885 | 316 | 91 | 214 | 13 | 278 | 34 | 91 | 27 | 2,049 | 348 | 2,948 | 513 | 3,461 |
| 1886 | 588 | 254 | 275 | 90 | 319 | 13 | 134 | 50 | 999 | 285 | 2,315 | 692 | 3,007 |
| 1887 | 836 | 282 | 439 | 78 | 445 | 16 | 204 | 46 | 2,062 | 327 | 3,986 | 749 | 4,735 |
| 1888 | 1,080 | 352 | 254 | 63 | 722 | 35 | 27 | 4 | 3,321 | 694 | 5,404 | 1,148 | 6,552 |
| 1889 | 1,284 | 429 | 286 | 87 | 545 | 54 | 201 | 59 | 4,007 | 820 | 6,323 | 1,449 | 7,772 |
| 1890 | 1,363 | 427 | 303 | 87 | 556 | 55 | 214 | 59 | 4,041 | 1,061 | 6,477 | 1,689 | 8,166 |
| 1891 | 2,339 | 761 | 275 | 103 | 1,321 | 140 | 514 | 68 | 6,490 | 1,607 | 10,939 | 2,679 | 13,618 |
| 1892 | 1,567 | 598 | 409 | 183 | 2,267 | 77 | 791 | 150 | 3,609 | 767 | 8,643 | 1,775 | 10,418 |
| 1893 | 1,275 | 501 | 475 | 152 | 1,854 | 124 | 911 | 186 | 7,109 | 1,082 | 11,624 | 2,045 | 13,669 |
| 1894 | 5,250 | 815 | 285 | 117 | 1,416 | 81 | 1,109 | 309 | 6,356 | 988 | 14,416 | 2,310 | 16,726 |
| 1895 | 8,233 | 2,158 | 1,277 | 233 | 945 | 104 | 3,476 | 1,245 | 4,102 | 638 | 18,033 | 4,378 | 22,411 |
| 1896 | 3,753 | 992 | 721 | 159 | 1,645 | 119 | 6,906 | 271 | 11,188 | 1,861 | 24,163 | 3,402 | 27,565 |
| 1897 | 3,338 | 1,209 | 4,512 | 76 | 1,798 | 147 | 4,594 | 305 | 6,582 | 1,296 | 20,824 | 3,033 | 23,857 |
| 1898 | 3,762 | 1,225 | 2,724 | 205 | 2,788 | 148 | 3,043 | 332 | 16,301 | 2,769 | 28,618 | 4,679 | 33,297 |
| 1899 | 3,659 | 1,042 | 1,600 | 373 | 6,539 | 403 | 3,384 | 617 | 27,620 | 5,820 | 42,802 | 8,255 | 51,057 |
| 1900 | 3,201 | 1,126 | 6,973 | 566 | 10,155 | 407 | 5,159 | 660 | 12,037 | 1,055 | 37,525 | 3,814 | 41,339 |
| 1901 | 3,654 | 1,189 | 4,931 | 755 | 1,858 | 128 | 4,416 | 487 | 5,900 | 716 | 20,759 | 3,275 | 24,034 |
| 1902 | 3,541 | 717 | 5,000 | 1,005 | 4,866 | 349 | 3,504 | 377 | 13,717 | 1,126 | 30,628 | 3,574 | 34,202 |
| 1903 | 2,388 | 638 | 4,366 | 1,091 | 4,676 | 420 | 3,861 | 493 | 13,699 | 1,268 | 28,990 | 3,910 | 32,900 |
| 1904 | 4,477 | 636 | 2,825 | 477 | 3,252 | 238 | 0 | 0 | 13,645 | 1,045 | 24,199 | 2,396 | 26,595 |
| 1905 | 496 | 27 | 4,558 | 698 | 2,569 | 555 | 202 | 28 | 9,008 | 1,325 | 16,833 | 2,633 | 19,466 |
| Total | 61,683 | 16,773 | 45,540 | 7,905 | 52,094 | 3,726 | 43,645 | 6,269 | 175,601 | 27,027 | 378,563 | 61,700 | 440,263 |

Department of Trade of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan: *Annual Comparison of Numbers of Passports Granted, 1868 to 1905*, published in September 1921.

Table 2: Main Occupation of Femile Population

| | | |
|---|-----|------|
| School teacher | 5 | 1 |
| Grain seller | 1 | 0 |
| Distributor of alcohol and soy sauce | 3 | 0 |
| Second hand goods seller | 8 | 1 |
| Seller of cloth for kimonos (Mercer for high class kimonos) | 2 | 0 |
| Pottery sales | 2 | 0 |
| Seller of miscellaneous items (General store) | 7 | 1 |
| Seller of kitchenware, sundries | 3 | 0 |
| Gold-dealer | 1 | 0 |
| Fruit and vegetable seller | 4 | 1 |
| Sweet-maker | 7 | 1 |
| Sugar seller | 1 | 0 |
| Midwife | 7 | 1 |
| Massage and moxibustion practitioner | 1 | 0 |
| Nurse | 5 | 1 |
| Guest house worker or owner | 4 | 1 |
| Rooming house worker or owner | 6 | 1 |
| Restaurateur | 10 | 2 |
| Catering worker or owner | 10 | 2 |
| Butcher | 2 | 0 |
| <i>Tofu</i> | 1 | 0 |
| <i>Geisha</i> | 182 | 27 |
| Waitress | 68 | 10 |
| Entertainer | 5 | 1 |
| Public bath worker | 3 | 0 |
| Diver | 4 | 1 |
| Sailor | 20 | 3 |
| Servant | 230 | 34 |
| Day labourer | 25 | 4 |
| Seamstress | 20 | 3 |
| Washer | 12 | 2 |
| Slaughterer | 1 | 0 |
| Cobbler | 2 | 0 |
| Barber | 2 | 0 |
| Hairdresser | 21 | 3 |
| | 685 | 100% |

(Extracted from) Archives of the Diplomatic Record Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 1-6-1-17-1: "Investigations of the Japanese Consulate in the Ports of Korea, Kyŏngsŏng, Pusan and Wŏnsan." Table of Households in the Japanese Concessions in Pusan 1903.

Table 3: Table of Households in the Japanese Concessions in Pusan, End of December 1903

| | Number of Households | Men | Women | Total |
|---------------------|----------------------|-------|-------|--------|
| Samurai Antecedents | 264 | 598 | 480 | 1,342 |
| Commoners | 1,853 | 5,371 | 4,336 | 9,707 |
| | 2,117 | 5,969 | 4,816 | 11,049 |

(Extracted from) Archives of the Diplomatic Record Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 1-6-1-17-1: "Investigations of the Japanese Consulate in the Ports of Korea, Kyōngsōng, Pusan and Wōnsan." Table of Households in the Japanese Concessioyns in Pusan 1903.

Table 5

| | ① Japanese Women | Korean Women | ② Japan | Korea |
|---------------------------------|------------------|--------------|---------|-------|
| Agriculture | 30.4 | 260.1 | 4.0 | 79.8 |
| Marine industries | 1.4 | 2.2 | 0.7 | 0.6 |
| Mining | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Engineering | 11.7 | 27.8 | 6.0 | 0.9 |
| Business | 101.5 | 19.1 | 52.0 | 5.9 |
| Transportation | 8.1 | 0.1 | 4.0 | 0.0 |
| Public official / self-employed | 25.6 | 1.3 | 4.2 | 0.4 |
| Domestic service | 14.1 | 8.8 | 7.2 | 2.7 |
| Other employment | 2.2 | 6.6 | 1.1 | 2.0 |
| Unemployed | 805.0 | 673.9 | | |

NB: ① is given as number per thousand of the population.

② is given as percentage of employed people.

Table 4: Number of Japanese Women Residing in Korea by Occupation

| | 1906 | | 1907 | | 1908 | | 1909 | | 1910 | |
|---------------------------------------|--------|-----------------|--------|-----------------|--------|-----------------|--------|-----------------|--------|-----------------|
| | Family | Main Occupation | Family | Main Occupation | Family | Main Occupation | Family | Main Occupation | Family | Main Occupation |
| National government official or clerk | 2,115 | 6 | 4,002 | 1 | 5,024 | 0 | 7,631 | 0 | 10,415 | 5 |
| Local government official or clerk | 186 | 5 | 273 | 0 | 537 | 0 | 574 | 0 | 1,477 | 0 |
| Teacher | 139 | 29 | 194 | 27 | 340 | 33 | 426 | 69 | 783 | 93 |
| Shrine attendant | 8 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 13 | 0 | 13 | 0 | 28 | 0 |
| Journalist | | | 133 | 0 | 159 | 0 | 150 | 1 | 164 | 0 |
| Priest or Missionary | 54 | 0 | 48 | 0 | 80 | 0 | 129 | 0 | 127 | 1 |
| Lawyer or Counsel | 38 | 0 | 28 | 0 | 60 | 0 | 70 | 0 | 117 | 0 |
| Doctor | 341 | 1 | 301 | 1 | 475 | 1 | 552 | 1 | 671 | 4 |
| Midwife | 23 | 63 | 54 | 80 | 6 | 121 | 25 | 152 | 75 | 171 |
| Farmer | 969 | 78 | 1,209 | 59 | 1,904 | 230 | 2,079 | 152 | 3,009 | 261 |
| Merchant | 11,495 | 1,033 | 13,508 | 1,232 | 18,569 | 3,300 | 25,469 | 1,458 | 21,292 | 1,084 |
| Engineer | 3,172 | 63 | 4,224 | 54 | 4,570 | 97 | 5,809 | 212 | 7,808 | 137 |
| Fisher | 571 | 69 | 708 | 38 | 1,145 | 0 | 1,439 | 20 | 1,978 | 213 |
| Miscellaneous | 6,361 | 964 | 6,760 | 1,002 | 6,481 | 593 | 6,939 | 1,024 | 14,134 | 1,517 |
| <i>Geisha</i> and Waitress | 278 | 2,572 | 34 | 2,562 | 3 | 4,238 | 4 | 3,941 | 229 | 4,093 |
| Labourer | 2,692 | 218 | 3,525 | 172 | 5,574 | 473 | 4,143 | 589 | 5,744 | 578 |
| Unemployed | 1,106 | 177 | 1,999 | 73 | 1,841 | 156 | 2,730 | 399 | 2,243 | 341 |
| Total | 29,548 | 5,278 | 37,011 | 5,301 | 46,781 | 9,242 | 58,182 | 8,018 | 70,294 | 8,498 |

(Extracted from) *Annual Statistical Report of the Residency General*, vol. 1, 1907 and *Annual Statistical Report of the Government-General of Chōsen*, 1912.

NB: 'Journalist' appears from 1907.

Table 6: Proportion with Main Occupation (National Census, 1930)

| ① Japanese Women | | Korean Women | | ② Japan | Korea |
|---------------------------------|-------|------------------|-------|---------|-------|
| Service industry | 55.8 | Agriculture | 235.9 | 28.6 | 72.4 |
| Business | 44.1 | Sericulture | 21.9 | 22.6 | 6.7 |
| Agriculture | 23.1 | Weaving | 19.0 | 11.8 | 5.8 |
| Domestic service | 14.1 | Business | 10.0 | 7.2 | 3.1 |
| Medical services | 11.5 | Service industry | 9.1 | 5.8 | 2.8 |
| Communications | 7.2 | Domestic service | 8.8 | 3.7 | 2.7 |
| Sericulture | 6.0 | Other employment | 6.6 | 3.1 | 2.0 |
| Education | 5.3 | Carpentry | 5.2 | 2.7 | 1.6 |
| Tailoring | 4.3 | Animal husbandry | 2.2 | 2.2 | 0.7 |
| Producing food and luxury goods | 4.0 | Marine industry | 2.2 | 2.0 | 0.7 |
| Public employment | 2.9 | Unemployed | 672.3 | 1.5 | |
| Unemployed | 802.8 | | | | |

Tables 5 and 6 are extracted from *National Census in Korea, 1930*.

NOTES

- 1) Yamashita Yone, "Kankoku ni okeru 'ianfu' mondai kaiketsu undō no isō" [Topology of the Movement for Solving the Problem of the "Comfort Women" in Korea], *Sensō sekinin kenkyū* [Research into War Responsibility], nos. 34 and 35.
- 2) Centre for Research and Documentation on Japan's War Responsibility, *Nashonarizumu to "ianfu" mondai* [Nationalism and the Problem of the "Comfort Women"], Aoki Shoten, 1998.
- 3) Kimura Kenji, *Zaichō Nihonjin no shakaishi* [The Social History of Japanese Residents of Korea], Miraisha, 1989; Konno Toshihiko and Fujisaki Yasuo, *Iminshi* [History of Immigration] I-III, Shinsen-sha, 1996.
- 4) Miyaoka Kenji, *Shōfu kaigai rurōki—Mō hitotsu no Meiji* [Prostitutes' Travels Overseas: The Other Meiji Period], San-ichi Shobō, 1968; Morisaki Kazue, *Karayuki-san*, Asahi Shimbun, 1976; Kurahashi Masanao, *Kita no Karayuki-san* [Karayuki-san of the North], Kyōei Shobō, 1989; Yamazaki Tomoko, *Sandakan hachiban shōkan* [Sandakan Brothel No.8], Chikuma Shobō, 1972.
- 5) History of the Women of Yamagata Editorial Committee, *Toki o tsumugu Yamagata no josei tachi* [Women of Yamagata Weave History], Michinoku Shobō, 1995.
- 6) The following records exist of the women who continued to live in Korea after the War: Fujisaki Yasuo, *Kimin* [Rejects], Simul Shuppansha, 1972; Kamisaka Fuyuko, *Keishū Nazare en* [Kyōngju Nazare Garden], Chūōkōron-sha, 1982.
- 7) "Kōshi ryōjikan rekinin, kankatsu kuiki zairyū hōjin no koguchi: Kankoku no bu" [The Japanese Resident Population under Jurisdiction, Korean Section] in *The Ministry of Foreign Affairs History of the Police* [Consular History], Koma Shobō, p. 622.
- 8) Published in September 1921.
- 9) "Ryoken" [Passports], Archives of the Diplomatic Records Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1, 5, 6.
- 10) "Kaikō 50 nen o mukaete yo wa mottomo kangai muryō" [My Deep Emotions on the Fiftieth Anniversary of Opening the Pusan Ports] in *Fuzan kaikō 50 nen kinen-gō* [Special Issue for the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Opening of the Pusan Ports], Governor of Pusan, 1919, pp.

29-31.

- 11) *Kaigai ryoken kangō-bo* [Verification of Passports List], vol.1: Nagasaki, 3, 8, 5, 5-1.
- 12) As note (11). To give an example, "Tsukasa Tatsu, age 22, from Maruyama-chō, left for Shanghai with foreigners on the 14th of April, 1868 and came back in September of the same year, ... Hayama Tatsu, age 22, from Maruyama-cho, left for Shanghai with foreigners on the 13th of February and came back on the 15 of September." In addition, to this type of case, a prostitute from Maruyama-chō stayed in Shanghai for several months. Moreover, the following cases of prostitutes employed by Westerners can be found: "Tei, living at the expense of Yamatoya Tatsuemon of Azabutani-chō, Tokyo, ... An Englishman, Jones, employed Kuni, 18 years old, the second daughter of a merchant, Yamaga Kunihachi, from Shimo-Yorozuya-machi, Nagasaki to go to Shanghai ... A Frenchman, Henri, employed Yamashita Shite from Ishikawa, age 21 years and 8 months, to go to Vladivostok, Russia."
- 13) Suzuki Jōji, *Nihonjin dekasegi imin* [Japanese Emigration for Work], Heibon-sha, 1992, p. 12.
- 14) Kimura 1989, p. 33.
- 15) In fact, the word passport was used only after the introduction of the modern passport laws in 1878, referred to Yanagishita Hiroko, "Senzen-ki no ryoken no hensen" [Pre- and Post-War Changes in Passports] in *Gaikō shiryōkanhō* [Diplomatic Records Office News], no. 12, 1998.
- 16) Prefectural "Records of Passports Granted and Returned (with Attachments)," 1881, 3.8.5.8.
- 17) Hatakeyama Kane (a commoner from Kumamoto, age 19) was given a passport for Korea on the 8th of April, 1881, but on the 3rd of June of the same year was given a passport to Vladivostok, and returned in October two years later ("Records of Passports Granted and Returned (with Attachments)," 1881, 3.8.5.8).
- 18) "Records of Passports Granted and Returned," 1880, 3.8.5.8, Archives of the Diplomatic Records Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- 19) *Shimbun shūsei Meiji hen'nenshi* [Compilation of Newspapers: Annual History of the Meiji Period], vol. 4, Tokyo Zaisei Keizai Gakkai

[Tokyo Financial and Economic Society], 1935.

- 20) Thanks to input from Namiki Masahito at a symposium, “Research on Japanese Colonialism” at the International Research Centre for Japanese Studies, the relationship between Obata and *Den* became clear.
- 21) See author’s article, “Chōsen ‘Karayuki-san’” [The Korean “*Karayuki-san*”], *Josei shigaku* [Women’s History], no. 4, 1994, p. 17.
- 22) *Zenkoku yūkaku an’nai* [A National Guide to Red-light Districts], 1930, in *Kindai shomin seikatsushi* [Life of the Modern Common People], vol. 14, San-ichi Shobō, 1991.
- 23) *Keijō hattatsushi* [A History of the Development of Keijō], Keijō Residents’ Association Office, 1912, p. 35.
- 24) “Jōyaku oyobi dō kankei hōrei” [Treaties and Related Laws] in *Gaimushō keisatsushi: Kankoku no bu* [The Ministry of Foreign Affairs History of the Police, Korean Section] (*Kankoku keisatsushi* [History of the Korean Police], vol. 1, Koma Book, 1989, pp. 427–428). This entry is transcribed in modern characters.
- 25) *Ibid.*, p. 30.
- 26) *Hōrei zensho* [The Complete Set of Laws], “Proclamation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs” no. 2, March 1878, and “Proclamation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs” not numbered, March 1878.
- 27) As note (11), in 1879, Takamura Fumi (age 14), Honda Wasa (age 20), Michigami Kiyo (age 16) and Hirosako Yoshi (age 19) from Nagasaki gave “seamstressing” as their purpose of travel on their passport application, while Takahashi Kame (age 26) gave “affairs” as her purpose. Additionally, there was one other person who gave “seamstressing” and ten other people who cited ‘affairs’ and were issued with passports and travelled to Korea.
- 28) Proclamation no. 9, 1883 (Clause 1 was revised in Proclamation no. 26, 1885).
Clause 1: Any Japanese resident in Korea or in the consular areas who tries to cause or seems likely to cause a disturbance of the public peace, or who engages in or seems likely to engage in any immoral behaviour in the aforementioned areas will be prohibited from residence for a period of more than one year but less than three years, or be made to pay a guarantee for the equivalent period.

Clause 2: Any individual prohibited from residence for the above reason must leave the area within fifteen days of the judgment, unless exceptional circumstances cause difficulty in doing so. An extension of the period may be granted at the discretion of the governor.

Clause 3: If the individual again engages in the behaviour described in Clause 1, the guarantee payment will be confiscated, and prohibition of residence reinstated.

Clause 4: Any individual who violates the fifteen-day grace period for exclusion or the extension period will be sentenced to be incarcerated for a period of more than eleven days but less than one month, and be made to pay a fine of more than two yen but less than one hundred yen.

Clause 5: There is no possibility of appeal against sentences handed down under the above regulations.

(The actual manuscript uses *katakana*.)

29) See Author's article, "Chōsen 'Karayuki-san'," *Josei shigaku*, no.4.

30) Ibid., pp. 74-75.

31) Kimura 1989, p. 21.

32) *Shinsen Chōsen kaiwa* [Korean Conversation New Edition], *Jitsuyō Chōsen-go* [Practical Korean] and *Chōsen kaiwa-hen* [Korean Conversation] are in the Archives of the Diet Library.

33) As note (30).

34) *Hōrei zensho* [The Complete Set of Laws]

Clause 1: Any Japanese resident in Korea or in the consular areas who tries to cause a disturbance of the public peace, or who engages in any immoral behaviour in the aforementioned areas will be prohibited from residence for a period of more than one year but less than three years.

Clause 2: Any individual prohibited from residence for the above reason must leave the area within fifteen days of the judgment, unless exceptional circumstances cause difficulty in doing so. An extension of the period may be granted at the discretion of the governor.

Clause 3: Any individual who has been prohibited from residence and is not satisfied with the judgment may lodge an appeal to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs through the governor or to the envoi within three days of the judgment, requesting to have the prohibition revoked. However, the execution of the judgment will not be suspended during the period of the appeal.

Clause 4: If there is an appeal under Clause 3 above, the Foreign Minister or the envoi will review the validity of the appeal and either approve or reject the judgment of the governor, and the judgment will be considered as finally determined.

Clause 5: An individual who has been prohibited from residence, but has a pressing business of other reason for continuing to reside, may appeal to the governor to pay an appropriate guarantee and continue in residence.

Clause 6: If an individual who has been granted leave to stay under Clause 1 above engages in the same behaviour as before, then the guarantee money will be confiscated and the prohibition of residence reinstated.

Clause 8: Any individual prohibited from residence who shows repentance may have the verdict repealed under the official power of the governor or secretary general.

Clause 9: Any individual who violates the fifteen-day grace period for exclusion or the extension period will be sentenced to be incarcerated for a period of more than eleven days but less than one month, and be made to pay a fine of more than two yen but less than one hundred yen.

(The actual manuscript uses *katakana*.)

- 35) *Kojong shidaesa* 5 [History of King Kojong Era 5], December 23, 1901.
- 36) *Keijō hattatsushi* [A History of the Development of Keijō], as above, p. 103.
- 37) The award of wooden cups rather than prohibition of residence can be seen more frequently in the *Tōkanfu kōhō* [Official Gazette of the Residency General], as with confidence gained from the victory in the Russo-Japanese War, the government began to actively promote emigration.
- 38) “Kankatsu kuiki zairyū hōjin no koguchi” [Japanese Resident Population under Jurisdiction] in *Gaimushō keisatsushi: Kankoku no bu* [The Ministry of Foreign Affairs History of the Police, Korean Section], p. 622.
- 39) With the enactment of “Sanba kisoku” [The Midwifery Regulations] in Japan in 1899, those who had gone to practice midwifery were required to apply for permission once more.

- 40) Kensetsu-sha, 1942, p. 69.
- 41) *Shokuminchi Chōsen no Nihonjin* [Japanese in Colonized Korea], Iwanami Shoten, 2002, p. 5. Nanba Sentarō mistakenly gives a different Chinese character “Yoshichō” to the one used in the passport records, and Takasaki directly quotes from Nanba using the same Chinese character. It is written as “Yoshitetsu” in the passport record.
- 42) Im Chōn-hye. “Chōsen tōchi to Nihon no on’natachi” [Korean Sovereignty and Japanese Women] in *Onna to kenryoku* [Women and Power], Heibon-sha, 1978.
- 43) Yōwōnsa, 1964.
- 44) *Taehan Maeil Shinbo* [Korean Daily News], December 15, 1906.
- 45) Ibid., September 20, 1907.
- 46) *Hwangsōng Shinmun* [Capital Gazette], April 26, 1908.
- 47) Ibid., April 23.
- 48) Ibid., May 5, 1908.
- 49) Ibid., September 8, 1909.
- 50) *Taehan Maeil Shinbo*, January 11, 1910.
- 51) Morisaki Kazue’s work, *Karayuki-san*, can be given as an exception. Morisaki was born and brought up in colonized Korea as a second-generation resident, and incisively questions the post-war Japanese amnesia with both her memories and her multi-faceted observations.

Summary

Movement of Women Seen in Passport Records: From Imperial Japan to Colonized Korea

According to passport records preserved in the diplomatic archives of the Japanese Foreign Ministry, many of the people who went to the West—to Europe and America—in the early years of the Meiji era would go down as noted names in history; on the other hand, those who crossed over to Chosŏn, China or Russia in that period were obscure members of the common class. When we look at the gender ratio there, we see an imbalance, with the number of women being a mere 20 percent of the number of men. This imbalance provided a splendid market opportunity to those people involved in the business of prostitution. In practice, women who were poor but in the prime of youth were easily able to obtain a passport and go off to China or Russia, or to Chosŏn, by declaring that working in the sewing or laundry business was the purpose of their trip. In addition, the Foreign Ministry simplified the procedure of issuing passports for poor citizens who could not live inside Japan itself in order to provide them with a means of living abroad, while at the same time pushing ahead with the military strategy of colonizing the overseas territories. Moreover, as far as Korea was concerned, Japanese migration was encouraged as a matter of national policy, and to this end, the prostitution trade, far from being restricted, was regulated as a service.

Among the Japanese women making a life in the Korean colony, many were from the poorer classes, though a small number can be classified as professionals such as teachers and medical workers. If we compare Japanese colonial society with its domestic counterpart, we can say that its social stratification was more marked. For educated women who were expected to play a role in the advancement of imperial policy, the poor women engaged in prostitution, even though unseen, were perceived as objects of abhorrence and contempt.

Just as all recognition of colonialism is omitted from Japan's post-war account of its modern history, there is also no remembrance or record of the lives of those poor, vanished women who were among the many

victims of that history.